

Welche Sprache ist sie anyway?: Borrowed anyway/anyhow in Texas German

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1. Introduction

A common phenomenon when languages are in contact is for one language to borrow words or phrases from another and incorporate them into the native vocabulary. Texas German, which has been in contact with English for over 100 years, shows extensive borrowing of English words. In addition to content word borrowing, lexical items such as nouns and verbs, Texas German shows examples of borrowings of discourse markers (DMs), which serve functional rather than lexical purposes. One of the most common English DM borrowings is *anyway* and its variant form *anyhow*. In this thesis I analyze the extent to which borrowed *anyway/anyhow* exhibit the same semantic and pragmatic functions as in English.

First, I give background information about the history of German in Texas and the development of Texas German. I then discuss the function and classification of discourse markers, as well as the studies that discuss the implications of borrowed and mixed discourse marking systems. I then turn to the analysis of *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German by Weilbacher (2008). Following his study, I analyze and classify new data from the Texas German corpus. Based on an electronic corpus of transcribed interviews of Texas German speakers from 2002 to the present, I show different semantic and pragmatic uses of *anyway/anyhow* and classify them into 4 main categories based on syntactic and semantic criteria. I show that *anyway/anyhow* are used as they are in English, but also explain some innovative uses that differ from the function of *anyway/anyhow* in English. Finally, I discuss possible explanations for the varied use of borrowed English DMs in Texas German.

2. Historical Background of Texas German

In the mid 19th century, Texas was among the most popular destinations in the United States for European immigrants. Texas needed immigrants as much as immigrants needed it;

Texas offered land and freedom that could not have been found in Europe, and it needed immigrants to colonize the area, tend the land, and stave off further attacks from the Mexicans and Native Americans. Large scale German immigration to Texas began in the 1840s, when Germany was suffering from problems of overpopulation (Boas 2009: 35). Land was hard to come by in Europe and often controlled by the state, and many workers could not find jobs. A major force in German immigration to Texas was the *Adelsverein*, a group of noblemen who wanted to establish a German colony in Texas by means of an organized mass emigration (Boas and Pierce in review: 1). Although beset by mismanagement and eventual bankruptcy, the society desired to ease economic pressures in Germany and use Texas as a refuge for surplus German labor. Texas, specifically with help from Sam Houston, would offer land grants to Germans wishing to settle, and provide materials and a market that the economically troubled Germany could not offer (Jordan 1977: 3-4).

Much of the continued immigration into Texas was a result of “chain immigration,” a concept in which a dominant figure writes letters back to the home country, speaking about the positives found in the new land and encouraging others to move. In the case of Texas Germans, this figure was Johann Friedrich Ernst, who learned that large land grants were available to Europeans in Stephen F. Austin’s colony in Texas. He applied for a grant of 4,000 acres in south-central Texas, and wrote letters back to Germany, describing the land as a paradise and influencing new immigrants. These land grants formed the core of the “German Belt,” the area of south-central Texas that still shows considerable German influence today (Boas 2009: 36).

During the heavy influx of German immigration in the 19th century there was no unified

Germany. German immigrants¹ in Texas came from diverse backgrounds and spoke equally diverse dialects of German. This variation in the settlers' native dialects contributed to the development of a Texas German dialect, and is partially responsible for features unique to German in Texas.

Though the dialect is not homogenous (cf. Boas and Weilbacher 2007), compared to other examples of German immigration to the US, such as in Wisconsin, where pockets of dialect speakers are seen in distinct speech islands across the state, the communities of Texas immigrants became more unified. This intermingling of dialects in Texas contributed to a levelling process of the language, resulting in a Texas German dialect.² New lexical developments arose such as *Stinkkatze* where Standard German has *Stinktier* 'skunk,' and *Luftschiff*, (expanded from its original meaning 'zeppelin') where Standard German has *Flugzeug* 'airplane' which were used to describe new developments unknown to Germans before emigrating to Texas (Boas and Pierce 2011: 138). This unique dialect strengthened and maintained the culture of immigrant communities.

Initially, Texas German communities remained largely self-sufficient. There were German language churches, businesses, and schools. The Texas German community had numerous German language newspapers that ran for a long time and had large circulation numbers. There were at least 140 individual publications starting from the 1840s until the 1950s. The *Galveston Zeitung*, the earliest newspaper was first published in 1847. *Vorwärts*, a publication in Austin had a circulation of around 6100. There was also a healthy amount of

¹ "German" is used here to refer to all German-speaking immigrants. This includes not only those from the German states before 1871 or Germany proper after unification, but also from other German speaking areas such as Switzerland, Luxembourg, and Alsace (see Boas 2009: 298).

² Despite levelling, there are still distinct dialects of Texas German (e.g. Texas German in New Braunfels differs from Texas German in Fredericksburg), partially due to the donor dialects which differ between communities (Boas 2003: 1-2).

German literature published in Texas, such as W. A. Trenckmann's novel "Die Lateiner am Possum Creek," which ran serially in his newspaper *Das Wochenblatt*, first published in 1891 (Salmons and Lucht 2006: 168-174). The abundance of German-language print demonstrates that German in Texas during the 19th century was not just a spoken medium.

Following in traditions from their homeland, Texas Germans founded singing groups, shooting clubs, gymnastic societies, and other organizations (Nicolini 2004: 46-49, Boas 2009: 50). Although patterned on traditions from Germany, a unique Texas German culture emerged which in turn contributed to the longevity of Texas German. There was also "a particularly strong desire to ensure the continued use of the German language at the time of the founding of the earliest German-Texas settlements" and many Germans wanted to continue to have German education (Kloss 1998: 222). Immigrants formed German language schools in Texas and through the 19th century fought to ensure that German was taught in the public schools (Boas 2009: 47). Through their strong education system, healthy literary production, and robust culture, Texas Germans formed a successful society and were able to remain largely independent from Anglo-Texan culture until the turn of the 20th century.

Following the start of World War I and the resulting anti-German sentiment present in America, this situation changed dramatically. In 1909 Texas passed an English-only law for public schools, followed by another after American entrance into the war in 1918 (Salmons 1983: 188), leading to a stigmatization of German.³ World War II reinforced the stigmas attached to German, and schools stopped teaching the language, churches switched to English services, and German-language newspapers stopped publishing (Salmons and Lucht 2006: 174).

³ This is the traditional argument, endorsed in works like Boas (2009). Others, like Salmons and Lucht (2006: 169), disagree, contending that World War I did not have that considerable an impact on Texas German because "[t]he shift to English was underway well before World War I." I follow Boas (2009) here.

⁴ The lack of institutionalized support for the language, coupled with increases in travel and interaction between the Texas German and surrounding communities has had devastating consequences for the stability and longevity of Texas German.

Up to 6000 Texans still speak German today (Boas 2009: 2). That number continues to dwindle, and most speakers of Texas German are over 70 years old (and most even older). These speakers represent the last generation who first learned and spoke only German at home, learning English only after starting school where German was forbidden. There are no monolingual or even Texas German dominant speakers today (Boas and Pierce, in review). Many Texas German speakers have not used the dialect regularly for years, or use it only in limited domains. The dialect has not been passed on to younger generations and has almost been completely replaced by English.

To record, document, and analyze the dialect before its extinction, the Texas German Dialect Project (henceforth TGDP) was created. Since 2002, TGDP researchers have been interviewing and recording speakers of Texas German throughout the “German Belt” of south-central Texas. The Texas German Dialect Archive (TGDA) consists of three different types of data, and is made up of English word lists and sentences taken from the *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* (Gilbert 1972) and from Eikel (1954) which informants are asked to translate into Texas German, recordings of the use of Texas German when participating in activities with other Texas German speakers, and open-ended interviews. In the interviews informants are asked to talk about their birthplace and hometown, origins of their ancestors, use of German in the home, childhood activities and more to produce casual conversation and elicit authentic Texas German speech.

⁴ *Das Wochenblatt* stopped publishing in 1940. The *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* was the last Texas newspaper to switch to English, in December 1957 (Salmons and Lucht 2006).

3. Donor dialects and new dialect formation

A major problem in the analysis of Texas German is the extent to which we can speak about a unified Texas German dialect. Texas Germans were not a unified people, and settlers came from many different backgrounds and home states. Jordan (1977: 9) summarizes:

To attempt to characterize the Germans who settled Texas is difficult, for they were diverse. Among them were peasant farmers and intellectuals; Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and atheists; Prussians and Swabians; abolitionists and slaveowners; farmers and townfolk; frugal, honest folk and cattle thieves. They differed in dialect, customs, and physical features.

German immigrants to Texas varied in religion, occupation, education, culture, and language.

When German immigration to the state began in the early 19th century, there was no unified Germany, but a confederation of states, each under their own local government. Immigrants who spoke German would have more likely identified themselves by their home state than as general “Germans.” Likewise, upon arrival in Texas, immigrants would have initially spoken their varying German dialects.

A concept of a standard German is a relatively new phenomenon, as Germany was not unified until 1871, and written standards for the language did not evolve until even later (Salmons 2012: 332-35).⁵ Even after an orthographic standard was adopted, the oral language would have been slower to change, and not until the mid 20th century were radio and television widespread enough to facilitate standardization over the greater German speaking areas (Salmons 2012: 335-37). It is, therefore, not possible to speak of a Standard German in Texas

⁵ In the mid 19th century cultural and linguistic identity was determined by region, and spelling conventions reflected this regionalism. With German unification in 1871, the Reich needed a standardized language to contribute to a common German identity. Duden’s orthography, the *Vollständiges Orthographisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* was first published in 1880, and was soon adopted as the official source for spelling. The *Duden* continued to grow and remains today the preeminent prescriptive resource regarding grammar, spelling, and usage of German language (Weiss 1995).

and non-standard dialects play a key role in the features of German as spoken in Texas (Boas 2009).⁶

Given the variation in language of the German immigrants, it must be determined to what extent we can speak of a collective Texas German dialect. Clardy (1954) and Salmons (1983) conclude that while some levelling has occurred, no homogenous dialect or koine has emerged. In contrast, Wilson (1977: 47) calls Texas German a “modified standard German,” and Eikel (1954) and Gilbert (1977) suggest Texas German reflects the *Umgangsprache* of middle-northern Germany, from which many of the settlers originated. This study uses the term Texas German as described by Boas (2009), following the steps of Trudgill’s (2004) model of new dialect formation, and will treat Texas German as a single dialect which emerged from a levelling process of the donor dialects in isolation in Texas.⁷

4. Discourse Markers

Discourse markers have become the subject of many linguistic studies in recent years and play an interesting role in language because they have more pragmatic and meta-linguistic value than lexical and semantic use. Discourse markers (henceforth DMs) are a feature mostly of spoken language and serve to organize speech. DMs function to show turns in discourse, join ideas together, mark the attitude of a statement, and fill gaps in speech. Many studies have examined the use of DMs in different languages and the role they play in discourse, but also how DMs are borrowed when languages are in contact with each other.

⁶ Salmons and Lucht (2006) hold a different view, that Standard German played a large role in Texas. I follow Boas (2009) here.

⁷This is an abstraction, but a convenient one. Note that Texas German has not completed the process as New Zealand English has (cf. Trudgill 2004, Boas 2009).

DMs are used more often in speech than in writing, and in spontaneous speech more than in planned speech (Helbig 1988: 12). This discretionary use of DMs renders them a class of semantically null and syntactically optional words and phrases, the removal of which from an utterance “does not alter the intelligibility or grammaticality of the sentence” (Weilbacher 2008: 12). Instead, the markers are used optionally to aid the flow of discourse and fill gaps in speech. Moreover, DMs can provide information about how an expression is intended to be received and interpreted by the listener. They can soften a harsh comment or emphasize the implication of an utterance. In this way, DMs do encode some pragmatic and nuanced semantic context. Compare the following example with and without a DM:

No discourse marker	<i>We should get going.</i> <i>Hör mir zu!</i>
With discourse marker	<i>We should maybe get going.</i> <i>Hör mir mal zu!</i>

The statements without the DMs sound more forceful and direct. The sentences with DMs have the same meaning, but the DMs *maybe* and *mal* serve as hedges to make suggestions and commands softer and less forceful.

Although DMs exist outside the syntax and semantics of a statement, they are lexical units which differ between languages in their use and grammatical function. English DMs evolve out of other adverbial and adjectival phrases and include, for example, temporal adverbs like *now*, *still* and *then*, causal markers like *so* and *because*, adjectives like *even*, literal and idiomatic expressions, and interjections like *well*, *okay*, and *anyway* (Ferrara 1997: 343).

German DMs include many of the languages modal particles. There is some discrepancy in the research about whether modal particles represent a different grammatical category and are syntactically separate from DMs (Brinton 1996: 30; Watts 1988: 236-40), but for the purposes of this research the German modal particles will be considered DMs. The German DMs have many lexical counterparts to the English system, and are also largely taken from adverbial, adjectival or conjunctive words and phrases within the lexicon such as: *ja, eben, aber, denn, noch* (Weilbacher 2008: 13). DMs can be difficult to define and analyze because in both German and English many have lexical homonym counterparts with stricter meanings and syntactic qualities. The varying usages and meanings of DMs may play a role in how they are borrowed in contact situations.

5. Borrowing vs. codeswitching

Speakers of Texas German are bilingual in German and English. As such, code-switching is common in the speech communities. Code-switching occurs when multilingual speakers switch between languages within a conversation. In a code-switch, a speaker abandons the primary language and employs the linguistic elements of another one. In the case of a German-English code-switch, a speaker who was speaking fluently in German would cease employing the linguistic structure of German in favor of English, and then may return to German. The entire linguistic system changes in a code-switch and code-switching entails that the speaker is fluent in both languages. Contrastively, in borrowing the foreign aspects are included in the system of the primary language, and speakers who borrow are not necessarily bilingual (Myers-Scotton 2002: 41). Speakers do not need to be proficient in the language of the borrowed items to use them in their native language. The borrowed words and phrases are embedded in the morphosyntactic frame of the principal language and are integrated into the utterance as if they are native

elements. As borrowed items are gradually incorporated into the native lexicon, they may lose their foreign or borrowed flavor in the language and be treated as native items.

When analyzing languages in contact, it is important to distinguish between code-switching and borrowing. While American German dialects may show examples of code-switching, there are many borrowed items from English. While lexical borrowing is most common, structural borrowing of conjunctions and adverbial particles is the next step in language contact (see Boas and Pierce 2011). Moreover, it is possible for items to be borrowed when a semantically equivalent native word exists. Borrowings are not always replacements, and both native and borrowed forms can occur in the same contexts. Adverbial particles like DMs are “items that can be analyzed in terms of their syntactic and pragmatic functions in discourse” and can be borrowed and used as if they were native elements (Weilbacher 2008).

Previous studies (Clyne 1972; Salmons 1990) have claimed that many German dialects in long-term contact with English have lost native discourse markers (modal particles) while also borrowing English discourse markers. A common occurrence in bilingual discourse is for DMs from both donor and recipient languages to appear. This may be a sign of a new discourse marking system, which combines features from both languages, or it may be part of the transition from a recipient-language to donor-language system. However, this may be just one step in an ongoing process of borrowing and replacement of discourse markers. In many American German dialects, entire discourse marking systems have been borrowed due to intense contact over long periods of time (Salmons 1990, Boas and Weilbacher 2006, Goss and Salmons 2000). Salmons’ (1990) analysis of German found that speakers have largely lost German modal particles and acquired new discourse markers from English that function pragmatically and semantically like the modal particles. Goss and Salmons (2000: 481) discuss the use of German

and English discourse markers by bilingual codeswitchers. They posit a set of 4 evolutionary stages through which German-American speakers lose German modal particles and adopt English discourse markers:

1. Exclusive use of German modal particles and other discourse marking, the system imported from Europe.
2. Codeswitching, especially emblematic switching, introduces English markers into German.
3. Both systems coexist, with English markers clearly borrowed; modal particles begin to die out.
4. English markers are part of German grammar rather than codeswitches; the native system is essentially dead and the substitution complete

English DMs are borrowed with varying frequency and different syntactic and semantic uses. Boas and Weilbacher (2006) look at the use of *you know/y'know* in Texas German in speakers interviewed between 2002 and 2006. As in Fuller's (2001) analysis of Pennsylvania German, Boas and Weilbacher (2007: 42) found that "that *you know* and *weisst du/weisst(e)* can occur in the same contexts in Texas German." Although semantically and pragmatically identical, the two markers differ in the frequency of use. Unlike in Fuller's (2001) data, the Texas German corpus used by Boas and Weilbacher (2006) show over 99% usage of the English marker *you know* and less than one percent of the German *weisst du/weisst(e)* marker, demonstrating that Texas German is further along the evolutionary stages described in Goss and Salmons (2000) than Pennsylvania German, but may not be evolving in the same manner.

Weilbacher (2008: iv) looked at the "differentiation of the functions of English *anyway/anyhow* into two lexical and one discourse marker (DM) forms to Texas German (TxG) in order to determine the extent to which the borrowed English DM exhibits the same syntactic and semantic functions in TxG as it does in English." *Anyway* (and variant forms like *anyhow*) is

an interesting point of focus when studying German-American dialectal DMs because, like the German modal particles, *anyway* functions pragmatically both as a DM and as an adverb. Ferrara (1997: 371) says that *anyway* serves as an adverb when used clause-medially or finally, but as a DM when in a clause-initial position. Its functions in the position are variable, however, and can signal a change in conversational topic, resumption of a previous topic, or digression from the conversation for another reason, such as interruption. Weilbacher (2008: 112) suggests that *anyway/anyhow* differ from other DMs and are harder to classify because “[a] given instance of *anyway* or *anyhow*, however, might negotiate a continuum between its lexical meaning (how adverbial is it?) and its pragmatic function (does this count as a DM?).”

In German, although there are several DMs that are used in similar pragmatic ways, there is no direct analog of *anyway* in German. Weilbacher (2008) discusses German equivalents of *anyway* and found many German particles (*aber, den, doch, jedenfalls, noch, überhaupt*) can be approximately translated in English as the adverbial *anyway*, while others require other adverbs to maintain accuracy. Likewise, some of the particles can be translated as the DM usage of *anyway*, while others require an adverb to maintain semantic nuances given by the varying German particles. This shows the difficulties of separating DMs from their adverbial counterparts; the distinction between the uses is not always clear.

It is also important to note that many translation difficulties arise from the syntactic constraints of English. While the meaning of *anyway/anyhow* is decided by its position in an utterance in English, many of the German modal particles show more syntactic variance and their meaning is not altered by their placement in a sentence. This may be an important factor in the use of *anyway/anyhow* in German. If borrowed English DMs are replacing native German modal particles, the differences between the two systems may be crucial to how English DMs are

adopted into the German language matrix. With a stricter syntactic but broader semantic use than the German modal particles, *anyway/anyhow* may be used differently when borrowed than as used in English. Borrowed *anyway/anyhow* may reflect the German system or may adopt the English syntactic and semantic structure.

6. Weilbacher's (2008) analysis of *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German

Weilbacher (2008), using TGDP data, applies Ferrara's (1997) differentiation of the functions of English *anyway/anyhow* into two adverbial and one DM form to Texas German to determine the difference of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic uses of *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German. He looks first at translation task data, wherein speakers were asked to translate sentences from English into (Texas) German. He lists 18 different ways in which 103 speakers responded to the elicitation task of translating "What was his name anyway?" The largest number of responses, representing 40.77% of the total, did not include a DM, which can be accounted for because there is no exact equivalent of *anyway* in German, and speakers did not find another DM appropriate in this location, or that speakers were reluctant to repeat the same word from the prompt. One downfall of translation tasks is that speakers may be reluctant to use borrowed forms in the translation, because they feel this violates the object of the task. A speaker may feel that repeating the token given in the task or giving an item they realize is borrowed is not a sufficient translation. However, some speakers used German DMs, especially *überhaupt* and *denn* (5.82% of responses each), showing that these particles are equivalents of *anyway* to some German speakers. 24.27% of the speakers used non-DM pragmatic markers, namely personal pronouns.

24 of 103 speakers who participated in the task used *anyway* or *anyhow* in their translations. The *anyhow* answers were the third most common response, and it is interesting

that speakers would respond with *anyhow* when prompted with *anyway*, since the words sound similar and are semantically equivalent in English. The *anyway* responses are fewer, and speakers show more hesitation or uncertainty when giving it as a response. This may suggest that there is a difference between the way *anyway* and *anyhow* can be used in Texas German, or simply that speakers (as mentioned above) were reluctant to provide the same word in the translation with which they were prompted.

Such translation tasks give insight into how bilingual speakers view one to one equivalences of words in their languages. Weilbacher's analysis of the translation task showed possible semantic equivalents of *anyway* in Texas German and showed that *anyway* and *anyhow* are options. However, translation cannot show how *anyway/anyhow* are utilized in unprompted speech.

Turning then to free speech, Weilbacher found that half of the Texas German speakers used *anyway/anyhow* in open-ended interviews, ignoring code-switch instances. There were 29 instances in the TGDP corpus from 2008 or earlier.⁸ Of these, no instances are used in the first adverbial manner (labelled A₁, following Ferrara (1997)), meaning something akin to “besides.” Over half of the instances show *anyway/anyhow* used in the second adverbial or “dismissive” manner, labelled A₂ (Weilbacher 2008: 96). It signals that whatever was said previously is irrelevant and marks the beginning of a new utterance. These instances are very similar to the way *anyway/anyhow* are used in English. Additionally, the data show instances of *anyway/anyhow* that do not match with English, such as meaning “for that reason” or “whatever” (Weilbacher 2008: 98).

⁸ Note: Weilbacher was using only recorded interviews that had been transcribed and annotated at the time of his study.

The third category of *anyhow/anyway* classified by Ferrara (1997) and Weilbacher (2008) is the DM category, A₃. This “resumptive” anyway is used to mark the close of a digression, resulting either in the resumption of the main topic of discourse or a topical switch (Weilbacher 2008: 90). Ferrara (1997: 347) defines A₃ as “sentence-initial adverbial conjunct that functions in English to connect utterances or levels of discourse ... [which] provide macrolevel organizational continuity with the main topic or purpose of the discourse.” The A₃ DM accounts for over half of Weilbacher’s data (2008: 94).

Additionally, Weilbacher (2008: 99) classifies another DM type of *anyway/anyhow* that appears outside any sentence structure, “effectively serving as a closing comment on the preceding topic, and often resulting in a long pause followed by a topic switch or the relinquishing of a speech-turn.” He calls this “stand-alone” *anyway/anyhow*. For example:

Oh, ich weiss noch gar nicht wo der Party war. Well anyway.
oh, I know yet totally not where the party was well anyway
‘Oh, I can’t even remember where the party was. Well anyway.’
(Weilbacher 2008: 97)

These stand-alone DMs are similar to type A₃ pragmatically, but occur utterance medially or finally, and signal the end of a comment rather than the beginning of a new one.

Most examples of *anyway/anyhow* appear in Texas German as they would be used in English. They appear in the data both as adverbials and as DMs, which can be classified as they are in English. DM uses of *anyway/anyhow* are more numerous, accounting for over half of the data. There are also some examples of innovative uses of *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German.

Consider the following example:

Die Laine is gerade lang gegangen da, und dann haben sie die die
the line is right along gone there, and then have they the
the Boundary Schule genennt anyway.

Boundary School named anyway

‘The [county] line ran right along there, and then they named the school the Boundary School anyway.’ (1-36-1-7-a) (Weilbacher 2008: 98)

Here the speaker “uses *anyway* much like ‘for that reason’.” (Weilbacher 2008: 98). Other examples show *anyway/anyhow* being used with a meaning close to ‘whatever.’ These innovative uses suggest that *anyway/anyhow* have been fully incorporated into Texas German, and completely borrowed DMs rather than simple codeswitches.

7. *Anyway/anyhow* in other Texas German data

Weilbacher’s (2008) analysis of Texas German determined ways in which borrowed *anyway/anyhow* are used as they are in English, as well as innovative uses that do not fit the English semantic and pragmatic categories. This current study builds and expands on Weilbacher (2008), looking at examples of *anyway/anyhow* in more recent TGDP data (all of which were collected or transcribed from 2008-present, i.e. after the completion of Weilbacher’s project). The goal of this study is to use the more recent additions to the Texas German corpus to find any instances of *anyway/anyhow* that differ from the classifications of Weilbacher’s data, and to posit reasons for the varying use of *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German.

Data was obtained through the Texas German Dialect Project website <speechislands.com>.⁹ This study uses open-ended interview segments that have been transcribed and are searchable as text within the concordancer on <speechislands.com>.¹⁰ The concordancer is a search function which finds every instance of a target word in the corpus. It can be refined by speaker and language of conversation (to exclude extended English

⁹ Recordings of interviews by the TGDP can also be found at <tgdp.com>, in which interviews are organized by city.

¹⁰ The TGDP has more recordings of interviews that have not yet been transcribed and annotated at this time. Only interviews searchable in the concordancer were used for this study.

codeswitches). Using the concordancer function, I searched the corpus for instances of *anyway* and *anyhow*¹¹ used by the speaker in German conversation. The search excludes anything said by the interviewer and English conversation. The goal of this project was to analyze data not used in Weilbacher (2008), so data discussed in his analysis is excluded here. The remaining data include both interviews recorded in 2008 or earlier which had not been annotated by 2008 as well as data more recent than Weilbacher's, from 2008 to the present.

After excluding examples of *anyway/anyhow* that appear in extended codeswitches (i.e. are not borrowed), the remaining instances were examined to determine their adverbial or pragmatic properties. DMs are classified according to the system used by Weilbacher (2008).

Table 1 shows the speakers who use *anyway* and *anyhow* as borrowings. Frequencies of use are listed following each speaker number in parentheses.

Table 1: Occurrence of borrowed *anyway* and *anyhow* per speaker

anyway	43 (1), 171 (5), 169 (1)
anyhow	93 (2), 118 (1), 139 (2), 167 (1), 194 (2)

There are 15 total instances of *anyway* and *anyhow*—7 (46.6%) of *anyway*, and 8 (53.3%) of *anyhow*. I then classified each instance based on its semantic usage. Recall that Weilbacher (2008) distinguishes *anyway/anyhow* into 4 categories: adverbial type A₁ (semantically equivalent to ‘besides’—there were no instances of this type in his data), adverbial type A₂ (semantically equivalent to ‘nonetheless’), DM type A₃ (resumptive), and “stand-alone”

¹¹ There are no instances of other variant forms of *anyway*, such as *anyways* or *anywho* in the TGDA corpus.

anyway/anyhow (Weilbacher 2008: 99). I use these same classifications, as well as discuss two instances that do not fit into the other four categories. Table 2 shows the percentage of instances of *anyway/anyhow* that fit each category.

Table 2: Classifications of *anyway* and *anyhow*

Classification of <i>anyway/anyhow</i>	Percentage of total instances
Adverbial ‘besides’ (A ₁)	6.7%
Adverbial ‘nonetheless’ (A ₂)	20%
Resumptive DM (A ₃)	60%
Stand-alone DM	0%
Other uses (‘whatever,’ expressing doubt)	13.3%

7.1 Texas German *anyway/anyhow* as ‘besides’

The first category of *anyway/anyhow* is the “additive *anyway*” that it is semantically equivalent to ‘besides.’ (Ferrara 1997: 347). Weilbacher (2008) found no instances of A₁. This data shows one instance that can be classified into this category. Consider the following example:¹²

Example 1: Wir haben nicht viel Gras gehabt, wir haben so viel Hiehne darumlaufen gar nicht viel yard anyhow, musste aufpassen, wos du wos du dreh

We did not much grass have, we did so many hens around-running really not much yard anyhow, must you watch-out, where you where you step

“We did not have much grass. We had so many hens/chickens running around what was not much yard anyhow, that you had to watch where you stepped”
(10-139-1-15-a)

¹² Examples represent transcriptions (the plain text lines) and word-for-word translations (italicized lines) as found in the TGDA. Glosses (in quotation marks) are my own. Numbers in parentheses following examples are identification codes used in the TGDA and indicate interviewer, speaker being interviewed, and section of the transcribed interview.

The “additive anyway” is used to give additional reasons for something. In this example, there are two reasons why “you had to watch where you stepped” – the hens and the small yard. The chickens pose a problem to walking barefoot, which is worsened by the fact that the yard was small. In this instance *anyhow* is also semantically equivalent to ‘in the first place.’ This is the only instance of the additive *anyway* found so far in the Texas German corpus.

7.2 Texas German *anyway/anyhow* as ‘nonetheless’

The second category of classification of *anyway/anyhow* is the adverbial A₂ type. These instances of *anyway/anyhow* carry the same meaning as ‘nonetheless’ or ‘in any case.’ A₂ is a “dismissive” adverbial and “usually cooccurs with a negative observation followed by but, and a positive or neutral evaluation” (Ferrara 1997: 349). In example 1, speaker 93 tells how he used change from the five-dollar bill his mother gave him for groceries to buy himself ice cream:

Example 1: Ich war nich gesagt, dass ich sollt aber ich hab’s *anyhow* gedan

I was not told, that I should but I I have it anyhow done

“I was not told that I could but I did it anyhow” (10-93-1-2-a)

Before the quoted lines in Example 2, speaker 118 discusses their use and level of fluency in English and German. In Example 2, they discuss how English words are used in German speech and vice-versa:

Example 2: dieselbe Werter mixen sich darin anyhow, das meint¹³ in Englisch ein Ding un denn in Deutsch en anderes

the-same words mix themselves therein anyhow, that means in English one thing and in German an other

“The same words are mixed within both languages, but they mean one thing in English and something else in German” (1-118-1-15-a)

¹³ In standard usage *meinen* means ‘to be of the opinion.’ The usage seen here, as ‘to mean’, is increasingly frequent in many dialects of German, possibly because of phonological similarities to English ‘to mean’ (Schach 1951: 263).

Speaker 118 states his use of English and German vary, but words from one language are often borrowed into the other ‘nonetheless.’ Furthermore, in Example 3, speaker 139 uses dismissive *anyhow* when discussing the liberal use of morphine on a patient who is going to die no matter what:

Example 3: gib im mehr morphene, gib im mehr morphene, er geht dot anyhow
 give him more morphine give him more morphine, he goes dead anyhow
 “Give him more morphine, he’s going to die anyhow” (10-139-1-14-a)

Speaker 139 indicates that the man might as well be given the morphine (i.e. to ease pain), because it does not matter what is done for him; he is going to die. Both Example 2's and 3's instances of *anyhow* are semantically equivalent to 'at any rate' or 'in any case.'

7.3 Anyway/anyhow as a resumptive DM

By far the most common use of *anyway/anyhow* in my Texas German data is the resumptive DM (A₃) category. These instances appear at the beginning of an utterance to mark resumption of a topic after a digression. Consider the following example:

Example 4: Der Truck is gebrochen un was war denn da los? Un anyhow..un hab ic se Milche gegeben

The truck did break and what was then there wrong? And anyhow and did them milk give

‘The truck broke and what was the problem? Anyhow I gave them milk’

(1-167-2-45-a)

In Example 4, speaker 167 digresses from the topic, milk delivery, to comment on the broken truck. Their use of *anyhow* signals that the details of the truck are not necessary to the story, and that they are resuming with the original speech topic. In Example 5, Speaker 43 uses *anyway* in the same resumptive manner. In the interview speakers 43 and 44 get off track and laughs and 43

Example 5: ich weiss gar nich wo meine Ureltern her kam
 Anyway I know really not where my great-grandparents from came
 ‘Any, I don’t really know where my great grandparents came from’ (1-43-1-4-a)

Example 6: das ist wo meine Großmutter gekennt hat. Anyway da hat er gesehen, dass...
That is where my grandmother meet did. Anyway there did he see, that...
 ‘That is where [he] met my grandmother. Anyway, there he saw that...’
 (10-171-3-5-a)

Both *anyway* and *anyhow* are used as the resumptive A₃ DM type in Texas German.

7.4 Other uses of anyway/anyhow

Example : Das war, das war die answer und das war- und wir doden nich fit pitchen oder anyhow so was

That was, that was the answer and that was- and we did not fit pitch or anyhow some-such thing

‘That was the [final] answer, and we did not pitch a fit or something anyhow’ (1-194-1-9-a)

In this example, *anyhow* encodes that there are multiple possibilities for what the children could have done. It is similar in meaning to ‘whatever,’ of which Weilbacher (2008) also has an example (see Example (4.17) on pp. 98).

Another instance of *anyhow* fits into the A₂ category but encodes more information.

When asked about any stories about the people who moved to Texas, speaker 194 begins telling a story about possible pirates. They preface their story by expressing some doubt about the truth of what they have heard:

Example: De Miller, so sagen se anyhow, das waren drei Brieder...

the miller, so say they anyhow, that was 3 brothers...

“The Millers, so they say anyhow, were 3 brothers...” (1-194-1-8-a)

Although *anyhow* in this instance is like the A₂ adverbial type in that it can be replaced by ‘at any rate/in any case,’ this *anyhow* is used by the speaker to express that they are skeptical about the truth of their story. This instance could be classified as a special subtype of the A₂ adverbial type.

8. Discussion

Some borrowed forms are used within the German language matrix but carry the meaning of their original English origin forms, while others show innovative uses of *anyway/anyhow* that are not acceptable within an English language matrix. Most instances can be classified into the categories proposed by Ferrara (1997) and Weilbacher (2008). Of the 15 instances of borrowed *anyway/anyhow* in the TGDP corpus, 3 are the adverbial type A₂, carrying a meaning of

‘nonetheless,’ and 9 tokens are of the DM subtype A₃. The data contain only one instance of type A₁ which encodes an ‘additive’ element or could equivalent to ‘besides’ or ‘at any rate.’ This type was not found in Weilbacher’s (2008) analysis of the corpus, suggesting that as more data is recorded and transcribed, more examples of this usage may be found. Interestingly, the data do not reveal any instances of the DM type Weilbacher calls “stand-alone” *anyway*. In Weilbacher’s data, stand-alone *anyway* accounts for 34.48% (10 instances) of the occurrences (99). I am not able to replicate his findings with the new data. All 9 instances of DM *anyway/anyhow* in my data are used clause-initially and introduce a return to the original conversation topic following a digression. One possible explanation for the difference is that because Weilbacher’s data come from different speakers than the data discussed here, they may reflect regional or idiolectal variability within Texas German.

Moreover, the data reveal two instances of *anyway/anyhow* that cannot be classified into the categories of previous studies. One is similar to an instance found in Weilbacher (2008), in which *anyway/anyhow* has a meaning similar to ‘whatever.’ In Weilbacher’s example, the speaker uses *anyway*, while this study shows a speaker using *anyhow* in the same manner. This demonstrates that this usage is possible for both *anyway* and *anyhow* in Texas German.

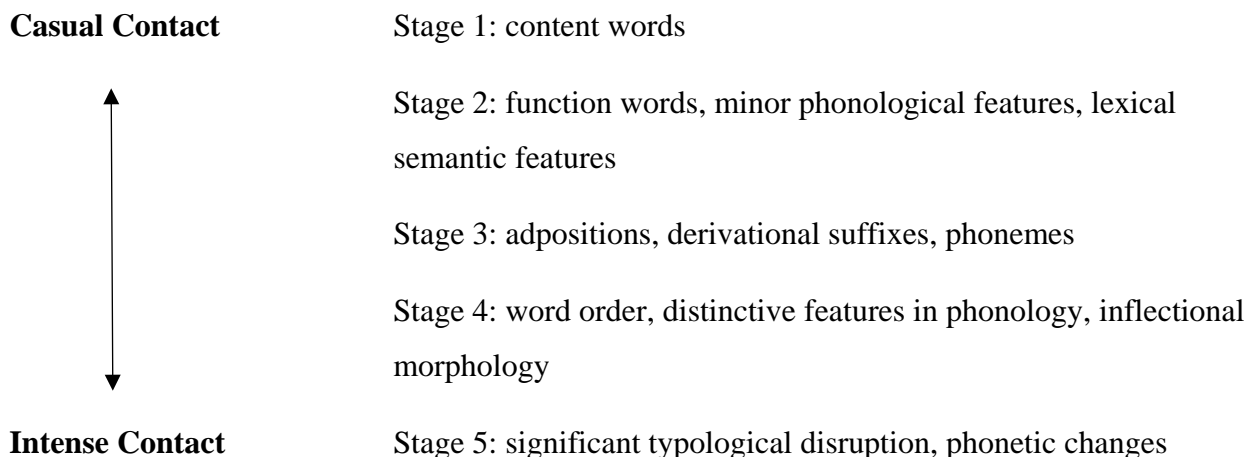
Additionally, the data reveal a type not found in Weilbacher (2008). It could be classified as the A₂ category, but encodes more information than “dismissive *anyway*,” indicating the speaker has doubt about the truth of a story. This could be classified as a special adverbial category.

This analysis demonstrates that *anyway/anyhow* have been borrowed extensively into Texas German. They appear both as pragmatic DMs and as lexical adverbial forms, and as innovative that suggest overlap between the pragmatic and semantic forms of *anyway/anyhow*.

The prevalence of the DM forms in the data, accounting for more than half of Weilbacher's and this study's data, suggests that the pragmatic DM form is easier to borrow than its adverbial counterpart. This might be due to DM *anyway/anyhow*'s broad semantic role. As a function word facilitating the flow of speech rather than a content word with lexical meaning like the adverbials, DM *anyway/anyhow* is easier to incorporate into the German language matrix and can be borrowed into utterances without affecting the meaning.

Because DMs represent more pragmatic uses than lexical contact, they play an interesting role in the study of borrowed words in language contact situations. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) propose a hierarchy of borrowability based on features of the borrowed items and the intensity of contact of two languages. In marginal contact situations, languages exhibit relatively slight lexical borrowing, while in long-term intensive contact situations more extreme borrowing, including that of structural and pragmatic features may occur. Figure 1 shows Thomason and Kaufmans' (1988) borrowability scale.

Figure 1: Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) scale of borrowability



The most common scenario in examples of language contact is low intensity contact, where only individual content words are borrowed. This situation is represented by stage 1 on the scale. Stage 2 represents slightly more intense contact between languages, which allows for more intense borrowing, and usually involves some degree of bilingualism in the recipient language community. When contact is between an immigrant minority language and a larger host language, the less dominant language is particularly open to borrowing from the dominant language (Winford 2003:33).

The Texas German speakers used in this study are all bilingual with English, as were most Texas-Germans from the turn of the 20th century. This bilingualism increased contact between Texas German and English, facilitating more borrowing into the minority language. Borrowing of English words content words like nouns and verbs is common in Texas German (see Boas and Pierce 2011), but the borrowing of adverbials such as *anyway/anyhow* is indicative of more intense contact and puts Texas German higher on the borrowability scale. Boas and Pierce (2011: 140) argue that Texas German should be classified as “stage 2” on the scale, “which includes slight structural borrowing as well as borrowing of conjunctions and adverbial particles (besides, of course other lexical borrowing at stage 1).”

Adverbs are lexical items and contain more semantic content than discourse markers, thus placing them lower on the borrowability scale than DMs. Grouped together with “uninflected function words” DMs are placed high on the borrowability scale (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). However, the data for Texas German reveal that instances of DM uses of *anyway/anyhow* is far more common than the use of borrowed adverbials.

The borrowing of DMs is notable because “their specialized use as interaction-regulating operators with reduced semantic autonomy makes them pragmatically detachable from the body

of lexical items” (Matras 2011: 218). Martras (1998: 309) proposes that DMs function differently from other non-lexical grammatical elements because they are “detachable from the content message of the utterance.” His concept of pragmatic detachability classifies DMs by function and shows that they are detachable from their native language and are therefore “more likely to show fusion with an external (L2) system” (Matras 1998: 309). In contact situations, the dominant language is more often borrowed into the minority language than the minority into the dominant language.

In the case of Texas German, English is the dominant language, and bilingual speakers borrow English DMs with the English pragmatic qualities. The long-term contact between English and Texas German, and bilingual with mixed DM system in which many borrowed English DMs are used in addition to the German DMs. While DM usage of *anyway/anyhow* is prevalent in Texas German, they have not completely replaced the native DM system, as has been suggested by some authors (e.g. Fuller 2001, Salmons 1990). Further synchronic examination of the dialect could be expected to reveal alternating usages of borrowed and native DMs because they are functionally equivalent items.

This study looked exclusively at *anyway/anyhow* as borrowed English DMs. Post hoc analysis of borrowed *you know* in German discourse shows many examples used by few speakers in the TGDA corpus. It also appears most often when the speaker cannot think of a word or wishes to make sure the listener understands their point. This suggests that *you know* functions more as a codeswitch than a borrowed DM. *Anyhow* and *anyway* may be borrowed more often and used more than the German DMs because they can function across a broad semantic spectrum (Boas and Weilbacher 2007).

This study treated *anyway* and *anyhow* as two variants of one DM. However, the data reveal that *anyway* is only used in the ‘nonetheless’ (A₂) context. Both *anyway* and *anyhow* can be used in this context, but all other occurrences of the DM were of *anyhow*. Weilbacher (2008) found both *anyway* and *anyhow* in all subtypes as well as in his “stand-alone” cases, however *anyhow* is used more frequently, suggesting that *anyhow* can occupy a broader syntactic and semantic range than can *anyway*. This is further supported by the instance of *anyhow* in the ‘besides’ (A₁) context, but with only one instance of this usage is it difficult to draw conclusions about the use of *anyway/anyhow* in this context.

9. Conclusion

The objective of this thesis was to present new research on the syntactic and pragmatic functions of borrowed *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German. To this end I first gave an overview of the history and sociohistorical development of the Texas German. I then summarized previous work on DMs in English and German and laid out a basis for analyzing the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic uses of DMs. I analyzed my data using this classification system to determine to what extent borrowed usage of *anyway/anyhow* corresponds to English conventions. The data reveal that Texas German borrows all possible English uses of *anyway/anyhow* as well as

The data used in this study comprise only a fraction of interviews in the TGDA corpus. As more of these interviews are transcribed and further interviews are recorded, further research can include larger data sets for a clearer understanding of the borrowed use of *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German. *Anyway/anyhow* present particular research challenges separate from other DMs because they exist on a continuum of lexical adverbial use to pragmatic DM use. This study classified instances of *anyway/anyhow* as either adverbs or DMs. Additional research is needed

to clarify the classifications and future studies should more accurately analyze *anyway/anyhow* by avoiding treating them as either adverbs or DMs.

This study did not look at the Texas German speakers' use of *anyway/anyhow* in English. To better understand the use of the borrowed forms it may be helpful to classify speakers' use of *anyway/anyhow* in English to compare with their use of the borrowed forms. Speakers bilingual in Texas German and English may use *anyway/anyhow* in English differently from those who do not speak Texas German.

Additionally, analysis of *anyhow* separate from *anyway* is largely absent in the literature. Further research is needed to determine the nuances in use between *anyway* and *anyhow*. Future studies will contribute to the understanding of the functions of DMs and their borrowability and development in contact situations.

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